

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-12 /081 W
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R 011644Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5173
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
DIA WASHDC
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 17443

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS/ UR CH
SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND INTERNAL PRC AFFAIRS

SUMMARY: A FORMER SOVIET COUNSELOR IN SOVIET EMBASSY PEKING STATES IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET "POLITICAL RELATIONS" MUST PRECEDE ANY SOVIET "CONCESSIONS" SUCH AS PARTIAL TROOP PULLBACK. HE DOWNPLAYS SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT CHINESE "GESTURES". ANOTHER SOVIET SINOLOGIST, UNILKE SOVIET PRESS, SEES STABILITY INPRC LEADERSHIP AND A PRAGMATIC DIRECTION IN CHINESE ECONOMIC POLICY. END SUMMARY.

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1. IN NOV 28 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF AND VISITING AMERICAN SINOLOGIST MERLE GOLDMAN, SOVIET CHINA SPECIALIST VALENTIN G KARYMOV DISCUSSED MOSCOW'S INABILITY UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES TO OFFER "CONCESSIONS" TO CHINA TO BETTER RELATIONS. KARYMOV, NOW ATTACHED TO FAR EASTERN INSTITUTE'S SECTION DEALING WITH CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, SERVED AS COUNSELFOR IN THE SOVIET

EMBASSY IN PEKING 1972-73, AS A CHINA SPECIALIST IN
MFA BEFORE THAT AND CLAIMS TO HAVE INTERPRETED FOR
MAO AND TENG HSIAO-PING DURING THEIR VISITS TO THE USSR.

2. SINO-SOVIET BORDER: KARYMOV PRESENTED STANDARD
SOVIET ARGUMENT THAT SOVIET TROOP BUILDUP ON SINO-
SOVIET BORDER BEGAN ONLY AFTER THE 1969
USSURI BORDER CLASHES. IT IS THEREFORE "DEFENSIVE"
AND DESIGNED TO PROTECT SOVIET TERRITORY WHICH THE
CHINESE CLAIM. HE CLAIMED THE PRC MAINTAINS OVER A
MILLION TROOPS NEAR THE BORDER AND HE CRITICIZED THE PRC'S
ANTI-SOVIET POLICY, MAO'S THREE WORLDS THEORY AND
CHINESE PRONOUNCEMENTS ON THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR.

3. KARYMOV ASSERTED THAT MOSCOW CANNOT MAKE A UNI-
LATERAL CONCESSION, INCLUDING EVEN A PARTIAL TROOP
PULLBACK, UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. HE HELD THAT
AN IMPROVEMENT IN POLITICAL RELATIONS MUST PRECEDE A
TROOP PULLBACK. THE PROCESS OF IMPROVEMENT COULD BEGIN
WITH BOTH SIDES RESTRAINING THEIR PROPAGANDA
ATTACKS ON THE OTHER AND THEN CONTINUING WITH INCREASES IN
TRADE AND REVEL OF CULTURAL AND OTHER EXCHANGES.
KARYMOV STRESSED HIS PESSIMISM REGARDING IMPROVEMENT
IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND CHARGED RECENT CHINESE
"GESTURES" LACK SUBSTANCE. HE SAID THE PRC 60TH
ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE ALLUDED TO A 1969 "UNDERSTANDING"
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BETWEEN "OUR TWO PREMIERS." THERE WAS NO UNDERSTANDING
AND THE "SOVIET PEOPLE" WOULD WONDER WHETHER THERE
WAS ONE IF THE SOVIET PRESS HAD PRINTED THE MESSAGE.
FURTHER, THE MESSAGE'S CONCLUSION THAT THE PRC WOULD
CONTINUE TO WORK FOR THE "REALIZATION" OF THE OCTOBER
REVOLUTION IMPLIED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT
FULFILLING THE AIMS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

4. KARYMOV DESCRIBED ANOTHER RECENT CHINESE "GESTURE"
IN WHICH SENIOR MOSCOW NCNA CORRESPONDENT INVITED A
GROUP OF CHINESE SCHOLARS TO THE CHINESE EMBASSY FOR
A MOVIE AND DINNER. THE CHINESE HOSTS INCLUDED FIRST
SECRETARIES BUT NOT THE AMBASSADOR. THE FILM TOUCHED
ON CONTRIBUTIONS OF LENING, STALIN AND CHINESE LEADERS
TO THE WORLD "REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT" BUT DID NOT
MENTION CONTEMPORARY SOVIET LEADERS. DURING TOASTS,
THE SOVIET ACADEMICS EXPRESSED A HOPE THAT BETTER
SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS WOULD NOT HAVE TO AWAIT "ONE
THOUSAND YEARS." THE CHINESE REPLIED THAT THEY
HOPED IT WOULD COME SOONER. GLASSES WERE RAISED TO
BETTER RELATIONS "IN OUR LIFETIME".

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5. COMMENT: KARYMOV'S VIEWS ON THE
IMPOSSIBILITY OF A SOVIET TROOP PULLBACK PRIOR TO AN
IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS REFLECTS THE
SENTIMENT THAT EW HEAR INCONVERSATIONS WITH OUR MFA
AND OTHER CONTACTS. OCCASIONALLY, A SOVIET ACADEMIC
WILL PRIVATELY EXPRESS AN OPINION THAT MOSCOW COULD
PROCEED WITH A UNILATERAL TROOP PULLBACK BUT AT THE
SAME TIME THEY WILL EMPHASIZE THAT THIS IS A MINORITY
VIEWPOINT NOT NECESSARILY SHARED BY SENIOR SOVIET
POLICY-MAKERS AND MORE SPECIFICALLY (IN THE WORDS OF
USA INSTITUTE SINOLOGIST BORIS ZANYEGIN) NOT BY "OUR MILITARY
MEN." END COMMENT.

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6. PRC INTERNAL: SOVIET SINOLOGIST AND CHIEF OF THE CHINA SECTION, ORIENTAL INSTITUTE LEV DELYUSIN, TOLD EMBOFF AND GOLDMAN NOV 28 THAT PRC LEADERS SEEM DETERMINED TO AVOID THE PAST POLITICAL DISRUPTIONS UNLEASHED BY MAO AND TO DEVELOP CHINA INTO A "RICH AND STRONG NATION." DELYUSIN, WHOSE EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE IN CHINESE AFFAIRS DATES BACK TO THE '40S, REFERRED TO NOVEMBER 5 PEOPLES DAILY ARTICLE, "HUANG CHING-LIN DID NOT BELONG TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY" AND PRC PRESS ARTICLES REINTERPRETING 1976 TIENANMEN RIOTS AS PRECIPITATED BY GANG OF FOUR, TO CLAIM THAT PRC'S PRESENT COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP IS MOVING FORCIBLY TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION AND PRAGMATIC ECONOMIC POLICIES. SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE OF PRC LEADERSHIP, HE STATED, IS EVIDENCED BY THE HARSH MEASURES, INCLUDING EXECUTIONS, WHICH ARE BEING TAKEN TO INSURE DISCIPLINE AND ORDER. THESE MEASURES, HE CLAIMED, REPRESENT A DEPARTURE FROM THE WAY MAO DEALT WITH DISSSENT AS WELL AS MAO'S POLICIES THEMSELVES.

7. DELYUSIN DESCRIBED TENG HSIAO-PING, DEFENSE MINISTER YEH AND LI HSIEN-NIEN AS THE CHIEF DECISION MAKERS IN CHINA. HE THOUGHT THEY WERE NOT A "BLOC" AND DID HAVE DIFFERENCES; BUT THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF BUILDING CHINA INTO A MODERN POWER DICTATES COMPROMISE RATHER THAN STRUGGLE AMONG THEM. DELYUSIN SAID AUA KUO-FENG, AS DESCRIBED PUBLICLY BY YEH IN HIS TAI CHUNG SPEECH, IS A "PUPIL" OF HIS ELDERS. THE LATTER ARE WILLING TO USE HIM AS MAO'S DESIGNATED SUCCESSOR BUT REQUIRE THAT HE WAIT. HUA HAS CLEVERLY REFRAINED FROM OVER-ASSERTING HIMSELF FOLLOWING MAO'S DEATH. DELYUSIN PREDICTED THAT AUA

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ALREADY HAS INDEPENDENT INFLUENCE AND WILL EVENTUALLY STRENGTHEN HIS POSITION OVER THE LONG RUN AS CHINA'S OLDER LEADERS DEPART. DELYUSIN, HOWEVER, THOUGHT THAT HUA HAS DIFFERENCES WITH TENG AND THAT HUA PROBABLY INFLUENCED WANG TUNG-HSING'S ELEVATION TO A PARTY VICE-CHAIRMANSHIP TO STRENGTHEN HIS POSITION IN THE POLITBURO. DELYUSIN PREDICTED THAT WANG (WHO HE REFERRED TO AS A CHINESE "BERIAZL" WOULD EVENTUALLY BE PRUNED BOTH BECAUSE OF HIS FORMER IDENTIFICATION WITH MAO AND THE DANGER WHICH HE POSES AS A RESULT OF HIS INFLUENCE IN THE SECURITY SERVICES.

8. DELYUSIN OPINED THAT THE PRC'S MAJOR PROBLEM IS LACK OF INVESTMENT RESOURCES. CHINA HAS "LEARNED" THAT IT MUST DEVELOP AGRICULTURE IF PROGRESS IN OTHER

AREAS IS TO BE ASSURED. AT TH SAME TIME, AGRICLTURE
MUST BE SQUEEZED FOR CAPITAL TO INVEST IN
PRIORITY INDUSTIRAL AREAS ("TRANSPORTATION, MINING,. OIL
AND METALLURTY). CHINESE LEADERS MUST ALSO
SATISFY LONG-POSTPONED CONSUMER DEMANDS FOR POLITICAL
REASONS AND TO INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY OF WORKERS.

9. ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC LINKS, DELYUSIN THOUGHT CHINA
WOULD SEEK SOME FOREIGN CREDITS BUT FROM DIVERS
SOURCES INORDER NOT TO BECOME OVERDEPENDENT ON ONE
SOURCE. HE THOUGHT CHINA WOULD TURN TO THE WEST AND
JAPAN FOR TECHNOLOGY. HE PREDICTED THAT RELATIONS
WITH THE USSR WOULD REMAIN STRAINED FOR "AT LEAST
ANOTHER DECADE."

10. COMMENT: DELYUSIN'S COMMENTS DEPART MARKEDLY
FROM THE INTENSE SOVIET PRESS REPORTATGE RECENTLY OF
GROWING "CONTRADICTIONS" AND FACTIONAL STRUGGLES IN
CHINA AND THE DAMAGE THIS IS ALLEGEDLY CAUSING TO
POLITICAL UNITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. HEIS VIEWS ON
CHIENSE PROBLEMS IN RAISING AND ALLOCATING INVESTMENT
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RESOURCES ARE ALSO SURPRISINGLY CANDID AND INDICATE
A SOMEWHAT POSITIVE (IF NOT OVERTLY SO) ASSESSMENT
OF THE PRAGMATIC ECONOMIC DIRECTION OF THE CHINESE
LEADERSHIP.
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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
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Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 113136
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
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To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/29f5cefb-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009